

**CRITICAL,
HISTORICAL, AND
PHILOSOPHICAL
CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE STUDY...**

Henry Clark Barlow





CRITICAL.
HISTORICAL, AND PHILOSOPHICAL.
CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE STUDY OF THE
DIVINA COMMEDIA

HENRY CLARK BARLOW, M. D.

SUPPLEMENT



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
11, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.
AND
29, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

[1865]

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BY

ALFRED W. HOW, M.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE "CONTRIBUTIONS".

CODICI IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ARSENAL AT PARIS.

There are three Codici of the Divina Commedia in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris, two in folio, one of which is on pergamena, the other on paper; the third is a small square volume bound in red morocco, old style, with a purple paper lining covered with gilt stars; it is a very elegant little volume and beautifully written. They may be described as follows:

Ital. Cod. 29. Folio membranaceo of 172 leaves, of the second half of the 14th century, written in Italian Gothic characters in single columns, no rubrics, but notes and latin postille, and sketches in pen and ink slightly tinted showing the style of the 15th century, or a little earlier. There is a rather rude floral border to the first page of the poem, and an initial letter, much injured, with the figure of Dante, and, at the bottom of the page, a design representing the Poet opposed by the *tre fiere*.

On the first leaf, *verso*, is the Epitaph of six verses, which many have believed to be by Dante himself, beginning —

Jura monarchiæ, superos, phlegetonta, lacusque
Lustrando cecini voluerunt fata quousque: etc.

followed by six other verses, (as in the Cod. at Pavia) beginning,

Inclita fama cujus universum penetrat orbem,
which is the second verse in the epitaph of thirteen verses, including the former six, once ascribed to Giovanni del Virgilio.*

We read Inf. I., v. 4, *Ai* quanto a dire etc. At canto V. v. 102,

Che mi fu tolta *el mondo* anchor moffède.

There are two plain leaves between the Purgatory and Paradise. Pard. VII., v. 114, reads, O per l'uno o per l'altro fu o fie.

At the end is the usual formula:

Explicit Comedia Dantis Alagherij
Florentini. deo gratias Amen.

The Sig. Ferrari, who examined this Codice carefully, pronounced it to be one of the best texts extant.

* See the Florentine Edition of Boccaccio's prose works, 1723. The inscription which the Bolognese Poet composed was, according to Pelli (p. 145), in fourteen verses, as follow —

Theologus Dantes nullius dogmatis expers,
Quod foveat claro philosophia sinu.
Gloria musarum vulgo clarissimus¹ auctor
Hic jacet et fama pulsat utrumque polum.
Qui loca defunctis graduum² regnumque gemellum
Distribuit laicis³ rhetoricisque modis.
Pascua Pieriis demum resonabat avenis⁴
Atropos heu lætum livida rupit opus
Huic⁵ ingrata tulit tristem Florentia fatum⁶
Exilium vati patria cruda suo
Quem pia Guidonis gremio Ravenna Novelli
Gaudet honorati continuisse ducis
Mille trecentenis ter septem numerus⁷ annis
Ad sua septembris ydibus astra redit.

1 *gratissimus* (MS. di Fil. Villani, Lauren.). 2 *gladiis* (C. Recan.).
gladiis e gemellis (C. di Fil. Vill.). 3 *loycis* (C. Rec.). 4 *amicis*
(Latin version of the D. C. by Fra Matteo Ronto). 5 *Hic* (ibid., or
Cod. Recan.?). 6 *fructum* (Lauren.). 7 *numinis* (C. Recan.), *minimus* (Villani).

Ital. Cod. 50. A Folio on paper of 289 leaves, including four blank ones at the end, written in a character of mezzo-tondo, in single columns, without notes, or postille, but having rubrics. The first of which is,

Capitolo primo di Dante Aldeghieri chiamato inferno dove prohemiza a tuta l'opera del dito (sic) sua opera.

The initial letters are in red, the one to the first canto is larger than the others. It is not so carefully written as Cod. 29. Inf. I., v. 4, begins, *E quanto* etc. Pard. VII., 114, has the same reading as in the former Codice. At the end is the formula,

Explicit liber paradisii dantis
deo gratias. Amē.

M. Marsand thought this one of the best Codici known, but Sig. Ferrari considered it less perfect than the former. In Canto V., v. 102, we find *n* put for *m*, thus

Che ne fu tolta el modo anchor nofende.

Ital. Cod. 30^{bis}. An elegant little volume in octavo, membranaceo, of 137 leaves, including two plain ones at the end, and two paper ones at the beginning, it is written in a character of mezzo-tondo, in double columns, and is of the beginning of the 15th century.

On the *verso* of the first paper leaf is the following note.

Ce manuscrit tres precieux du dante a été collationé par M. Capéronier bibliothecaire du roi de France.*

The title on the second leaf appears to be more modern, it is,

La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri,
Manoscritto
dall' anno MCCCCX al MCCCCXX in circa.

* In 1733 he was Librarian to Louis XV., he died in 1775.

The first page of the poem has a border of flowers within rectangular compartments, of which there is a double row at the bottom, and outer margin. There are small initial letters in red to the cantos.

Inf. I., v. 3, reads *Al* quanto etc. Pard. VII., v. 114, has the same reading as the other Codici. At the end of the Inferno is the simple statement — Explicit Infernus. — At the end of the Purgatory there are only stars, but at the close of the Paradise we read,

Explicit tertia comedia dantis aldegerij florētini q
intitulatur paradisus. Deo grās Amen.

M. Marsand, judging by the form of the letters, thought it might be of the beginning of the 16th century.

NOTE TO THE PARIS CODICE

No. 4148. p. 46.

The diagram of letters alluded to, p. 46, in the notice of this Codice, is an ingenious way of returning thanks to God, and is as follows,

s	a	i	t	a	t	i	a	s
a	i	t	a	r	a	t	i	a
i	t	a	r	g	r	a	t	i
t	a	r	g	o	g	r	a	t
a	r	g	o	e	o	g	r	a
r	g	o	e	d	e	o	g	r
a	r	g	o	e	o	g	r	a
t	a	r	g	o	g	r	a	t
i	t	a	r	g	r	a	t	i
a	i	t	a	r	a	t	i	a
s	a	i	t	a	t	i	a	s

NOTE IN REFERENCE TO INFERNO V,
verse 59. p. 107.

In the Codice No. 3488, in the Library of the British Museum, we read on this passage —

“Morto questo re Nino rimase di lui uno figliuolo piccolo cholla madre cioè Semiramisse e fu costui apelato e chiamato ancora Nino.”

After this is a statement to the same effect as that in the C. Brit. 932. The remarks of the early Commentators on this passage are as follows:

In the Commentary of 1328, attributed by Batines to JACOPO DI DANTE and printed by Lord Vernon in June 1848, we read —

“— questa Semeramis fu moglie di Nino re di Babelonia e del detto Nino ebbe uno figliuolo chebe nome Nino bello del corpo avegnia che non fosse dalcuno valore ma più tosto doperationi feminescha e debille questa Semeramis suciedette nel regnio dopo la morte del suo marito Nino poi aciessa di lusura giague chol suo figliuolo etc.”

JACOPO DELLA LANA, circa 1332, says —

Questa Semiramis vegendo la bellezza del suo figliuolo esi ando incalciata da luxuria giacque carnalmente con esso etc.”

In this Commentary the son is called *Ninia*; but in that of the Nidobeatina he is named Nino. The latter repeats what the former had said of Semiramis —

“Venele in piacere lo figliolo e essendo incalzata da luxuria giacque carnalmente con esso, etc.”

In the OTTIMO (1334—51) we read —

“Quando il suo figliuolo, nome Nino per lo padre, fu in eta, con lui lussurio, etc.”

PIETRO ALLIGHIERI (1340) in his latin commentary states —

“Et tantæ luxuriæ erat quod cum proprio filio nomine Ninia concubuit.”

BOCCACCIO, 1373, observed on this subject —

“E sono di quegli che affermano lei in questo scellerato servizio aver tirato il figliuolo.”

BENVENUTO DA IMOLA, 1374, says of Nino the king—

“Morì lasciando un figlio dello stesso suo nome.”

And, after this, adds (see Tamburini's Translation) —
 “Finalmente ardendo di dividere il talamo col figlio suo, fu dal medesimo figlio uccisa, dopo aver regnato 42 anni.”

BUTI, who finished his Commentary in 1385, wrote —
 “— alla fine prese uno suo figliuolo, nato d'adulterio, per marito; et allora per escusarsi, fece legge che ognuno, etc. etc.”

GUINIFORTO DELLI BARGIGI, whose commentary was composed about 1435, is more precise in his account than preceding expounders, and says —

“Tanto era lussuriosa questa miserabile femina che ancora dal proprio figlio non si voleva astenere, e si tenea un suo figlio bastardo per marito.”

Subsequently, alluding to the law she made to cover her licentiousness, he says —

“Finalmente pur ebbe la paga, che le veniva, perocchè volendo dappoi, in ispazio di tempo, peccare con suo figlio legittimo, prima chiamato Nino in modo del padre, poi chiamato Ninias in modo che femminella, questo Ninias, abominando cotanta scelleranza, uccise la incestuosa madre, e succedette esso nel regno.”

LANDINO, at a later period, 1481, speaks to the same purport, and says —

“Justino dice che finalmente volendo usare col figliuolo, fu da lui morto; alquanti dicono che lo prese per marito, et a ricoprire la infamia costitui per legge, che fusse lecito a ciaschuno fare el simile.”

And TASSO, nearly a hundred years after, in his *postille* to a copy of the Divina Commedia, by Pietro da Fino, 1568, wrote —

“Fece che il piacer fosse lecito per escusarsi del biasimo d'aver peccato col figliuolo.”

More recent Commentators follow in the same sense.

But let us hear Dante himself on this subject, and mark his thoughts and mode of expression. — The lascivious Queen of Assyria is introduced thus —

“La prima di color, di cui novelle
Tu vuoi saper, mi disse quegli allotta,
 Fu imperatrice di molte favelle.

A vizio di lussuria fu sì rotta,
 Che libito fe' lecito in sua legge,
 Per torre il biasmo in che era condotta.”

Here Virgil promises to inform his pupil of something he did not, or might not, know, though he could not be supposed to be ignorant of the fact, that Semiramis succeeded Ninus her husband, and ruled the Assyrians with consummate spirit and valor. Having thus, with becoming dignity and disgust, introduced this remarkable woman, he proceeds to announce her name — "*Ell' è Semiramis* — and adds — "*di cui si legge*" — as though about to mention something not generally known, or not universally received as true —

Ell' è Semiramis di cui si legge,

thus attention is excited, a communication of importance is expected, curiosity is raised, and the pupil listens with profound reverence to his master — what is it?

"*Che succedette a Nino e fu sua sposa:*"

A most lame and impotent conclusion, which explains nothing, confirms nothing, imparts nothing, that weakens the whole passage, almost gives to it an air of ridicule, anticipates, in a manner, the succeeding line, and if the expression "*si legge*" be taken in the sense of the same expression in the XXIVth canto of Purgatory, v. 85 —

"*In opprobrio di noi per noi si legge,*"

that is *si grida*, becomes absurd. But put the words "*sugger dette*," or their equivalent, in place of "*succedette*," and then the unity of the passage is preserved, its signification is explained, confirmed, and strengthened, the lustful Empress stands forth in alto relievo, worthy of the hand of the "Mighty Florentine", and Dante is rescued from tameness and tautology —

"*Ell' è Semiramis di cui si legge,*

Che sugger dette a Nino, e fu sua sposa:

Tenne la terra che il Soldan corregge."

Horror is thus carried to its climax, and the character of Semiramis is complete.

(*From a Ragionamento printed by the Author in 1850.*)

NOTE TO INFERNO CANTO V.,

v. 69, and v. 102, p. 109.

In the distribution of the pains of the Inferno, Dante has regard primarily to the sins which are there punished, his illustrations are secondary, and are taken from prominent characters, both of past history and of his own times, who were believed to be addicted to them.

In the series of sins, *lussuria* is set down as less offensive to Deity than gluttony, prodigality and its opposite, anger, infidelity, heresy, and violence of any and every kind. *Lussuria* is the first offence against God which is here punished with corporeal pain. There are various degrees of it, and the examples are taken from classical and more or less historical characters. Here are placed Semiramis, Dido, and Cleopatra, but in reference to this vice only, and as having, in consequence, prematurely ended their days in a tragical manner. Here also are Helen, Achilles, Paris, Tristan, and more than a thousand other shades of knights and ladies, *le donne antiche e i cavalieri*,

Ch' Amor di nostra vita dipartille.

The losing of their mortal lives through love being the reason why they are here located together, and not in the *selva* of suicides, or any lower circle of the infernal regions to which the greater crimes of several would have sent them. In the majority of cases the love was a dishonest one, but in the instance of Achilles, who was slain while soliciting, in honorable marriage, the hand of Polyxena, it was not, and therefore we may infer that this condition was not absolutely necessary, and that it was enough to get placed in this circle, that the violent death had occurred through the rashness of an inconsiderate, or unwise, and, perhaps, unwarrantable attachment.

After having briefly mentioned some few of the chief characters here found, Dante's soul is moved with an exceedingly great and earnest impression of deep interest and compassion towards two of those unfortunates whose figures float more lightly than the rest on the dark whirlwind of this dismal region. Separated and distinguished from their fellow sufferers, they seem scarcely to belong to the same company, though found in the same place. But they had both been slain in consequence of an unfortunate love for each other, and therefore they are here. Whether there was any thing more criminal in their conduct than what Dante has related, as from the mouth of the chief sufferer herself, has never with certainty transpired, or found its way into a creditable narrative. Reports were spread, which in time came to be noted down, and subsequently were raised to the rank of registered facts, and so passed current in the world as matters of genuine history, but with no better foundation of truth, as their analysis and comparison show, than the representations of those who were disposed to favor the power-

ful, and of others who had no opportunity of knowing what the real circumstances were. Francesca da Rimini and Paolo Malatesta, in their violent deaths, were universally mourned and lamented, but no one dared to investigate the circumstances under which they occurred, and no known contemporary chronicler has recorded the event. What we do find in subsequent writers is singularly deficient in consistency, and is wanting in the precision and exactitude of those fundamental particulars of dates and places by which alone we can place any reliance on their narratives.* We discover that the accounts of authors are not trustworthy in those matters which they might and should have known correctly; and that in other matters, which they could only have heard as mere reports at second or third hand, their statements are nothing more than the idle talk of one generation transformed into history in a succeeding one.

From these is derived the popular notion touching the case of Francesca da Rimini, respecting whom the best informed writers have spoken very cautiously, while the more credulous and garrulous have indulged in their weakness to a culpable extent. (See "*Francesca da Rimini, her lament and vindication*". London, 1859.)

Giovanni Boccaccio, who wrote in 1373, did not care to repeat the idle stories of his predecessors, but relied upon sources of information sought out by himself, and may have derived his account of Francesca from Ser Piero di Messer Giardino of Ravenna, who had been an intimate friend of Dante, and had furnished Giovanni with other notices, and he expressly states that he had never heard it said that Francesca had ever had illicit intercourse with Paolo; his words are—"Col quale ella poi si giugnesse, mai non udii dire, se non quello che l'autore ne scrive." Boccaccio, in his commentary, states, more circumstantially than any other writer, the particulars of Francesca's unfortunate love, beginning from the day when she first saw Paolo in her father's palace at Ravenna, and was given to understand that he had come to woo and to wed her for himself alone, and "*incontanente in lui pose l'animo e l'amor suo*." After the marriage ceremony she was conducted to Rimini, and it was only

* Compare together Rossi's 'History of Ravenna', first Edit.; the unedited chronicle of Ubaldo Branca; the chronicle of Pesaro; the chronicle of Marco Battaglia (Raccolta Calogeriana, Tom. XLIV.); the Anonimo Riminese (Muratori 'Rerum Italicarum Scriptores', Tom. XV.), and Clementini, 'Raccolto storico della fondazione di Rimini', 1677.

on the following morning that she discovered the deception which had been practised upon her, by the substitution of Paolo's deformed brother, Gianciotto, in the place of him to whom she had given her heart. A second account states that Francesca had been promised by her mother to Paolo, but Gianciotto (Giovanni) seeing her, resolved to have her for himself, and that her relations did not dare to oppose his will. And in a third we are told (see Clementini) that, without consulting his daughter, Guido da Polenta gave her to Giovanni as a reward for military assistance when he was hard pressed by the Ghibelins. The Polentani and the Malatesti, both of the Guelf faction, were already, it is said, related by the marriage of Bernardino, Guido's eldest son, to Maddelena, a daughter of Malatesta the father. It was this Bernardino who, though much older than Dante, had been his fellow soldier on the field of Campaldino. In the following year, 1290, Guido came to Florence as Podestà.* It is extremely probable that the Poet had early formed an intimacy with the family of Polenta; Prof. Mercuri of Rome has sought to show that Dante was a guest at Ravenna as early as 1302, and that, during the following nineteen years of his life, this city was his recognized home rather than any other. But be that as it may, we cannot doubt that the most friendly relations existed between Dante and the family of Francesca, anterior to the period, when, at the court of her nephew, Guido Novello, in Ravenna, the Poet ended his weary pilgrimage, honored, esteemed, and loved. That he had ever seen Francesca is improbable, her death having taken place, not later, it would seem, than 1276, when he was a lad in Florence of eleven years of age.

Love having been the cause of the tragical deaths of Francesca da Rimini and Paolo Malatesta, Dante, whose severe justice was ever tempered with mercy, could not deliver them from the lot into which they had thus been cast, and where they must necessarily become the companions of others much worse than themselves; but he sought to mitigate their sufferings, and has shown us that, notwithstanding their miserable plight, they were not without some consolation — at least Francesca was not. The state of her mind is not that of one at enmity with God; but rather of a pious soul, willing to pray for Dante's peace, if God would only hear her prayer;

* See Maria Manni, in the '*Cronica di Paolino di Piero Fiorentino*', apud Muratori R. I. S., Tom. XI.

and poor Paolo was of the same disposition also. Dante has defined love to be "a spiritual union of the soul with the object of its love" (Conv. Tratt. iii. c. 2); we can, therefore, fully understand the force of Francesca's expression, in reference to the beloved Paolo —

Che, come vedi, ancor non m'abbandona.

Francesca ends the sad story of herself and Paolo by assigning the cause of their being found here —

Amor condusse noi ad una morte:

and in vindication of themselves before an evil speaking world, adds, with the prophetic certainty of a disembodied soul, in reference to the place of that murderer who slew his brother because he was more righteous than himself,

Caina attende chi in vita ci spense.

DANTE ON THE GENERATION OF SOULS, AND THEIR QUALITIES.

(A supplementary Dissertation in reference to p. 256—263.)

Dante appears to have held that all sublunary things are generated by the movements of the heavens (Convito, Tratt. III, c. 15) which induce perfection in those things disposed to receive it, especially "the first perfection, that is of the *substantial generation*, on which all the Philosophers are agreed that the Heavens are the cause, though they explain it in different ways, some by the movers of the heavens, as Plato, Avicenna and Algazel; others by the stars themselves, especially as regards human souls, as Socrates, and also Plato, and Dionysius the Accademician; and some by the celestial virtue which is in the *calore naturale del seme*, as Aristotle and the other Peripatetics" (Tratt. II, c. 14). By which, Dante probably meant what he elsewhere calls its *complezione*. Throughout the Convito he frequently expresses his belief in the influence of the stars: thus we read that their virtue descends by means of their rays—"*li raggi di ciascuno cielo sono la via per la quale discende la loro virtù in queste cose di quaggiù*" (Convito Tratt. II., c. 7). But it is not so much, if at all, the luminous bodies themselves which produce this effect, as it is the divine Intelligences, or Angels, who work the spheres, and through the nobility of whose natures these influence are occasioned, — so that the planet or star "*per la nobiltà delli suoi movitori*

è di tanta virtute che nelle nostre anime e nell' altre nostre cose, ha grandissima podestà, non ostante che ella ci sia lontana." It would seem, in fact, that this stellar influence on created things was regarded by him as the cause of their supreme excellence. Dante defines *Nobiltà* to mean individual perfection — "*perfezione di propria natura in ciascuna cosa*" (Tratt. IV., c. 16), and hence it is as applicable to precious stones, plants, and animals, as to human beings, in respect to whom, he says,

"Chè solo Iddio all' anima la dona,"

and explains — "*lo quale in noi discende da somma e spirituale virtù, come virtute in pietra da corpo nobilissimo celestiale*" (Tratt. IV., c. 20). This *nobiltà* is in us the "*principio di tutto bene*" (ibid. c. 21), the seed of the moral and intellectual virtues, which are its fruits (c. 16, 17, 20), and the source of all our happiness; we might almost imagine that the Poet, in his Divine Poem, had symbolized it by the "*diletto monte*"

"Ch' è principio e cagion di tutta gioia,"

were it not that this distinction is represented as purely the gift of God, who through the agency of the heavens, confers it on those only who are fitted to receive it — "*all' anime di quelli, cui vede stare perfettamente nella sua persona acconcio e disposto a questo divino atto ricevere.*" (c. 20).

In the following chapter (21) Dante proceeds to show how it is that the soul, "*che è a giusa di semente della virtù divina*" — the source within us of that which is divine, or the divine principle itself, differs in quality in different persons.

"Avicenna and Algazel held that souls were primarily of two sorts, noble and ignoble. Plato and others taught that they proceeded from the stars, and might be more or less noble according to the nobility of the star. Pythagoras was of opinion that all souls were equally noble, according to their natures, whether of men, of animals, of plants, or minerals, the only difference being in their *forms*. Now if each of these had to defend his own opinion, possibly the truth might be found in them all. But as at first sight they seem to be somewhat at variance with it, I shall proceed, not according to their views, but in accordance with the opinion of Aristotle and the Peripatetics." It is not improbable that the Poet had himself passed through all these various phases of thought and opinion, before, like Thomas Aquinas, he took refuge in the latter. It was a serious subject of debate

in the days of Dante, whether the intellectual soul was transmitted by generation, as Tertullian and others had held, or whether, as Origen and the adherents of Priscillian believed, all souls were created at once. Aquinas, in the *discreto latino* of his '*Summa Theologiæ*', had decided, after a sort of sham fight on the opposite side, that the sensitive soul is generated, but the intellectual soul is created by God, "it is heretical to say that it is not", and that we ought to regard the creation of souls as taking place only at the same time with the bodies they animate, or as Dante subsequently said, as soon as their bodies are ready to receive them. Aquinas argued, that the soul without its body is imperfect in its nature, and God not having begun his work with imperfections, we ought not to regard the creation of souls as having taken place previously. "Some," he says, "have supposed that the intellectual soul was only united to the body *accidentally*, and that it was of the same nature as the spiritual substances which have no bodies. Hence they believed that human souls were created from the first simultaneously with the Angels. This opinion is radically wrong; for if the soul were united to the body accidentally, man would have only an accidental existence, seeing that the soul would thus be the man, which is an error. Besides, the human soul is not of the same nature with the souls of Angels, since it does not conceive of things in the same way. Man understands through the medium of the senses, hence the soul requires to be united to a body, but the same thing cannot be affirmed of an Angel" (Quest. CXVIII. Art. 3). Aquinas also suggests the extreme inconvenience that would follow if pre-existent souls had to choose their own bodies, and that we might thus fall into the error of Origen, who holding this opinion, supposed that the union took place as a punishment for previous offences. A heresy condemned in Priscillian by the Council of Braganza — "*Si quis animas humanas dicit prius in celesti habitatione peccasse et per hoc in corpore humano interjectas, sicut Priscillianus dixit, anathema sit.*" Dante did not believe this at any time, but when he wrote his *Convito* he seems to have had an idea that all spiritual substance was created at once, *ab eterno*, the intellectual soul in man being of the same spiritual nature as in the Angels. "L'anima umana la qual è colla nobiltà della potenza ultima, cioè ragione, *participa della Divina Natura a giusa di sempiterna Intelligenza*; perocchè l'anima è tanto in quella sovrana potenza nobilitata, e

dinudata da materia, che la divina luce, come in Angelo, raggia in quella, e però è l'uomo divino animale da Filosofi chiamato" (Tratt. III., c. 2). This precious part of the soul he calls Deity. Petrarca also regarded it as divine. Even the syllogizing St. Thomas might be driven to admit, by analogy, the unification of spiritual substance, at least abstractedly. Touching the material part of man, he remarks (Quest. CXIX., Art. I.), that matter is not increased by the multiplication of new bodies, for, according to St. Gregory (*Moral.* lib. XXXII., c. 9), the original substance of all bodies was created at one time, and thus human bodies are only temporary transformations of portions of primitive matter. Now if this be so of matter, it must surely also be so of mind, and hence all minds, at least all human ones, may be regarded as so much of the Divine reason as for the time being can be united to organized bodies capable of receiving it. A theory deducible also from Dante's premises. The transcendentalism of the Platonic school was apt to dazzle and attract poetic minds and draw them away from those sterner matter-of-fact principles of the Peripatetics, which as deductions from natural phenomena, so far as observed and understood, could alone satisfy their more mature cogitations. Dante, therefore, who, like Thomas Aquinas, followed "*il Maestro di color che sanno*," "*il maestro della umana ragione*" (Tratt. IV., c. 2), and gladly sat among his *filosofica famiglia*, continues his discourse thus (c. 21), "E però dico che quando l'umano seme cade nel suo recettacolo, cioè nella matrice, esso porta seco la virtù dell' anima generativa, e la virtù del Cielo, e la virtù degli alimenti* legata, cioè la comples-

* The Edition of Biscioni (1741) has *elementi*, and after "matura", which is an adjective agreeing with "compleSSIONe", there is a comma, also after "cielo". The Paduan Editors (1827) placed a colon after "cielo", preserved the reading *elementi*, but made "matura" a verb to the nominative "compleSSIONe". This was a judicious change. Professor Witte in 1854 proposed to read *alimenti* for "elementi", and made "seme" the nominative to "matura e dispone", introducing, after compleSSIONe the words, "*del seme. Esso matura etc.*" This alteration was adopted by Fraticelli in his Edition of 1857. More recently the Rev. Matteo Romani, Reggio 1862, after mature and persevering study of the text, by which he nearly lost his eye sight, has returned to the old reading *degli elementi*, and made "matura" an adjective, putting once more a comma after it. It is questionable, I think, whether Dante wrote *elementi*, or *alimenti*, the former agrees best with what Brunetto Latini says of the four "compleSSIONi" (Tesoro, cap. 31.), but the latter is more in harmony with Aristotle. The proper nominative to "matura etc.", is, I think, "compleSSIONe" (del seme), hence I would propose to read as follows.

sione, e questa virtù matura e dispone la materia alla virtù formativa, la quale diede l'anima generante; e la virtù formativa prepara gli organi alla virtù celestiale, che produce della potenza del seme l'anima in vita; la quale incontanente prodotta, riceve dall'a virtù del motore del cielo lo intelletto possibile: il quale potenzialmente in sè adduce tutte le forme universali, secondochè sono nel suo produttore, e tanto meno quanto più è dilungato dalla prima Intelligenza." Dante's doctrine of *intelligences*, how they receive from God above them, and impart to things below them, was not learnt in the school of Aristotle. As God, he says, is the universal cause of all things, the Intelligences, that is the Angels, knowing Him, know what is the *form* of created things, and therefore they know what constitutes the reasonable soul in man (*la forma umana*) in so far as this is regulated by the Divine mind, and chiefly the moving Intelligences know this, as they are the especial causes of it, and of every general *form*. "Massimamente conoscono quella *le Intelligenzie motrici*, perocchè sono spezialissime cagioni di quella, e di ogni forma generale." Yet the constellations, or their influences, are extremely changeable, as he subsequently states. "E perocchè la complessione del seme può essere migliore e men buona; e la disposizione del seminante può essere migliore e men buona; e la disposizione del Cielo a questo effetto puote essere buona e migliore e ottima, la quale si varia nelle costellazioni, che continuamente si trasmutano; incontra che dell' umano seme e di queste virtù più e men pura anima si produce; e secondo la sua purità discende in essa la virtù intellettuale possibile, che detta è, e come detto è (c. 21). And if the receiving soul be produced under the most favourable circumstances, and the intellectual virtue be free from any corporeal taint, there are those, he says, who believe that so much of the Deity would descend into it, that the soul thus produced would be, as it were, an other incarnate God — "che tanto discenderebbe in quella della deità, che quasi sarebbe un altro Iddio incarnato" — "and this is almost all that can be affirmed on this subject in a natural way. In a theological sense it may be said, that as soon as the supreme Deity, that is God, beholds his creature ready for the exercise of His beneficence, so much the more does He impart, the greater its capacity to receive." Dante here shows himself to be a more practical theologian than Thomas Aquinas, who, after Aristotle, admitted the celestial element in human gene-

ration, calling it "*calor ex virtute coelestium corporum*" and in his 118th and 119th Questions, Part. I., gives ample physiological details on the subject, but does not turn them to so pious a purpose as our Poet, who, in his *Divina Commedia*, is more spiritually minded still, owing to his renewed acquaintance with Beatrice, and the divine influence of her teaching.

NOTE IN REFERENCE TO THE VITA NUOVA, p. 285, 304, and 380.

Dante speaking of the '*Vita Nuova*' in his *Convito* (*Tratt. I. c. 1, p. 6 Edit. Pad.*), says "*E io in quella dinanzi all' entrata di mia gioventute parlai* (that is, before the age of twenty five), *e in questa di poi quella già trapassata*" (that is, after the age of forty five). From which statement we are not to infer that the '*Vita Nuova*' was written either wholly, or in part, before 1290, but only that it relates to this youthful period. Bice de' Portinari, or rather the Beatrice of the '*Vita Nuova*', is represented as having died on June 9th 1290; but subsequent events are afterwards spoken of. Scolari assigns to it 1292 but Ponta to 1294. I think it very probable that it was not finished till much later than this, and that Dante has alluded to what he witnessed at Rome in 1300, and even to what happened several years after. The '*Vita Nuova*' is virtually divided by Dante into two parts, that which relates to the period antecedent to the age of twenty five, and that which relates to an after period. The death of Beatrice concludes the former: his writing a letter to the *principi della terra*, beginning with a latine quotation from Jeremiah, commences the latter, or as he calls it the *nuova materia*. The words of Paragraph XXXI. are very remarkable. Dante here states that after the most gentle lady had departed from this century, the city of Amore (which was where she lived and died) remained *quasi vedova e dispiogliata di ogni dignitate, ond' io ancora lagrimando in questa desolata cittade, scrissi a' principi della terra alquanto della sua condizione, pigliando quello cominciamento de Geremia: Quomodo sedet sola civitas! E questo dico, acciocchè altri non si meradigli perchè io l'abbia allegato di sopra, quasi come entrata vella nuova materia che appresso viene.*" Dante then excuses himself for not giving here the entire quotation

from Jeremiah because it was in latin, though he had given it before (§ XXIX.), as he had intended from the first to write only in Italian. By this we are to infer that in the above mentioned letter he had quoted the whole passage: "*Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo: facta est quasi vidua domina gentium.*" *Principi della terra* was a title given to the Italian Cardinals, and Dante once wrote a letter to these personages beginning with those words. Gio. Villani says it was addressed to them after the death of Clement V. in 1314, urging them to elect an Italian Pope. But there is nothing in the letter itself, which is without a date, absolutely indicative of this, nor of when exactly it was written. One thing, however, is evident from it, that Rome was then equally without an Emperor and Pope. Fraticelli thinks it was written before the 14th July 1314. I think it may have been written much earlier. It contains, chiefly, a lament for the absence of the papal Sun from Rome, a severe condemnation of the cupidity of the French party in the conclave, a bitter reproof of unfaithful pastors, and concludes with an exhortation to the Italian Cardinals to combat bravely the opprobrium of the Gascons, to the honor of Italy and the Spouse of Christ. The last paragraph is as follows —

"Emendabitur quidem (quamquam non sit, quin nota cicatrixque infamis Apostolicam Sedem usserit ad ignem, et cui cæli et terra sunt reservati, deturpet), sin unanimes omnes, qui hujusmodi exorbitationis fuistis auctores, pro Sponsa Christi, pro sede Sponsæ, quæ Roma est, pro Italia nostra, et ut plenius dicam, pro tota civitate peregrinantium in terris, viriliter propugnetis, ut de palæstra, jam cæpti certaminis undique ab Oceani margine circumspecta, vosmetipsos cum gloria offerentes, audire possitis: "*Gloria . . . excelsis*"; et ut Vascorum opprobrium, qui tam dira cupidine conflagrantes, Latinorum gloriam sibi usurpare contendunt, per sæcula cuncta futura sit posteris in exemplum."

The expressions here used do not appear to me to confirm the statement of Villani.

After the death of Nicholas IV, in 1291, there was a struggle between the Roman party in the conclave, and that which favoured the French interests at Naples, and the parties were so nearly balanced that the papal chair remained vacant for more than two years. This continued disunion of the cardinals might possibly have induced Dante to exhort the Roman party to exert itself,

and how necessary this was is shown by the sequel, for the cardinals, unable to come to any conclusion as to a fit and proper person for election, being threatened by the hermit Pietro Morone with the divine wrath if they did not fill up the vacancy within four months, chose the holy man himself for the successor of Pope Nicholas, and he became Celestin V. If, therefore, the 'Vita Nuova' were not finished before 1294, there would be no anachronism in Dante alluding to this letter here. But I think the date of this difficult little book may be later by some few years. In paragraph XLI. Dante speaks of numerous pilgrims from distant parts passing through a street which was "*quasi in mezzo della cittade*", on their way to St. Peter's to behold the Veronica; this was, in all probability, in the year of the Jubilee, 1300, when the Poet was himself also at Rome. The epithet *dolorosa* given to the city, which is said to have been "*quasi vedova e dispogliata di ogni dignitate*" could not possibly apply to Florence, and must have been meant of Rome, the *domina gentium* alluded to in paragraph XXIX. Dante, in Purgatory VI., 112—114, uses the word *vedova* in reference to Rome lamenting the absence of the Emperor, her legitimate temporal Sun, but here the word is used in reference to the absence of the spiritual Sun, or perhaps to both, as expressed in the letter — "*Romani urbem, nunc utroque lumine destitutam ... solam sedentem et viduam.*"

But in 1300 Rome had her pope, at least nominally, for there were those who considered that Boniface VIII. had not legitimately succeeded Celestin V., and did not recognize him; or Dante may have been of the opinion which he causes St. Peter in heaven to express, that, in the sight of God, the pontifical chair was vacant when not worthily filled, and especially so in reference to Boniface —

Quegli ch'usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
Il luogo m'io, il luogo mio, che vaca
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio.

(Pard. XXVII. 22—4.)

The disputes of Boniface VIII. with Philip le Bel brought the pope to an untimely and miserable end, October 12th 1303. On October 22nd he was succeeded by Benedict XI., whose submission to the king of France increased that monarch's pretensions, he died suddenly, July 27th 1304, and it was said by poison. Philip now resolved to use his influence at the next election, so that the papal chair might be filled by a creature of his own. The conclave

met at Perugia, and sat for upwards of nine months without coming to a decision.

On this occasion Giovanni Villani states (lib. VIII, c. 80) that — “After the death of Benedict a schism arose, and there was great discord in the college of Cardinals about the election of a new pope, the conclave being divided into two nearly equal divisions; at the head of one party with Messer Matteo Rosso of the Orsini, and Messer Francesco Guatani (Gaictani) nephew of the late pope Boniface; and at the head of the other were Messer Napoleone of the Orsini del Monte, and the cardinal di Prato, who were for restoring their relations and friends the Colonnese, these favoured the party of the king of France, and inclined to the Ghibelins.” Villani then relates the cunning devise of the Cardinal da Prato to serve the king of France, and the deep trick he laid to outwit the nephew of the late pope, proposing that, to remove all suspicion, the latter should nominate three ultramontane archbishops fit for the office, whomever he pleased, and that his own party should select one of them. Messer Gaitano, believing that he now had the game in his own hands, chose three archbishops created by his uncle, all confidential friends and at enmity with Philip. One of these was the archbishop of Bordeaux, his chief confidant, and more especially opposed to the king of France in consequence of the injuries his family had sustained in the war of Gascony carried on by the king's brother, Charles of Valois, against Edward I. of England. The wise and foreseeing cardinal da Prato knowing that the archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Goth, was a man “*vago d'onore e di signoria, e che era Guascone, che di natura sono cupidi, che di leggieri si potea pacificare col Re di Francia*,” thought that the purpose of his party would be best served by choosing him for pope.

Accordingly a secret compact was made by them to this effect, and the agreement with the other party was signed and sealed, and both sent privately, with secret letters, to the king of France, advising him, that if he would recover his position in holy church, and re-establish the Colonnese, he had better make a friend of Messer Bertrand de Goth, and come to terms with him for himself and friends, for that the election of a pope rested in his own hands.

The scheme succeeded, the archbishop of Bordeaux delighted at the prospect of being made pope, promised on oath, with hostages, to be and to do all that the king de-

sired, and was consequently elected June 5th 1305, the apostolic chair having been vacant ten months and twenty eight days. The first act of the new pope, Clement V., was a summons to the Italian cardinals to assemble at Lyons to solemnize his coronation. And now it was with sorrow that they experienced the first fruits of the successful intrigue, the greater portion of them, says Villani, "*si tennero gravati e forte ingannati*" ... "*e messer Matteo Rosso delli Orsini, ch'era il primo de' cardinali e 'l più attempato, e che più mal volentieri si partiva da Roma, avvedutosi dello inganno, ch'egli e la parte (sua) aveano avuta di questa elezione, disse al cardinal di Prato: 'Ventuto se' alla tua di condurcerne oltremonti, ma tardi ritornerà la chiesa in Italia: si conosco fatti i Guasconi'.*" (lib. VIII., c. 81.)

Dante, in his letter to the Italian cardinals (§ 10), addresses himself especial to this venerable Orsino, and, with a reference to the Colonnese, appeals to his patriotism. "*Tu prae omnibus Urse, ne degratiati collegæ propter te remaneret inglorii, etc.*" He also addresses the opposite faction — "*Tu quoque Transiberianæ sectator factionis alterius, ut ira defuncti Antistitis in te velut ramus insitionis in trunco non suo frondesceret, etc.*" The defunct pope here alluded to would seem to be Boniface VIII. rather than Clement V., by the manner in which he is spoken of, and the notice of his party. Nor could there be a more urgent occasion for the Poet to exhort the Italian cardinals to do their duty towards Rome and the church, than when the intrigues carried on at the conclave in Perugia threatened disaster to both.

Villani remarks that for the sin committed by the Italian cardinals in the death of Benedict XI., "*se colpa v'ebbono*", and for the fraudulent election of Clement V., they were well punished by the Gascons." (l. VIII., c. 80.) It was probably to prevent this fatal influence that Dante wrote his memorable letter.

Clement was crowned at Lyons on St. Martin's day, November 12th 1305, and on December 17th he created twelve new cardinals, Gascons and French, friends of the king, and restored the cardinals "*messer Jacopo e messer Piero della Colonna*" to the dignity and "*ogni grazia*" of which Pope Boniface had deprived them. These were the "*degratiati collegæ*" mentioned in the Poet's letter, an expression applicable to them in 1305, but not so nine years later, after Clement's death, when they certainly were no longer in *disgrace*, inasmuch as the pope

had reinstated them "*in ogni grazia*"; nor may they have been any longer the colleagues of the venerable Matteo Rosso, who, nine years previously, was the most advanced in age of any of the cardinal: I have not been able to ascertain when he died. After the death of Clement V., in April 1314, there was a vacancy of two years, but the college of cardinals had taken such root in France, that there was no longer any hope of the speedy restoration of the papacy to Italy.

If the letter mentioned in the 'Vita Nuova', should prove to be the letter written by Dante to the Italian Cardinals, and that in 1305, the date of the book will be somewhat later than has hitherto been supposed.

Cantos XXX. and XXXI. of the Purgatory read very like the continuation of the last part of the 'Vita Nuova', while the '*mirabile visione*' there alluded to may have been the original of the glorious vision of Beatrice and the Church detailed in Cantos XXIX., XXXII. and XXXIII. The words used by Beatrice in reference to the *carro* of the church, or St. Peter's throne,

Modicum et non videbitis me;

Et iterum, sorelle mie dilette,

Modicum, et vos videbitis me. (XXXIII. 10—12.)

certainly do identify Beatrice with the vicissitudes of the papacy, in allusion to the removal of the *carro* from Rome, and its prophetic return again to the seat of the 'Spouse of Christ', "*quæ Roma est*". But how such a temporary eclipse, or absence, came to be connected in Dante's mind with the departure of a young lady from this mortal life, if, by any prefiguration, it were so connected, can only be imagined, if at all, through the mystical import assigned to the name of Beatrice — "*che ella era un nove, cioè un miracolo, la cui radice è solamente la mirabile Trinitade.*" (!)

ADDITIONAL NOTE, p. 583.

p. V, l. 5, for "he", read *be*; also p. 278, l. 17.

p. 10, l. 9, after "di", insert 14. In this Codice (No. 1728) there is the marginal note —

"Come dāte morì adì 14 de settembre 1321

et avea añi 56 et mesi .4. quando morì.

which will give for his birth-day the 14th of May, old style.

p. 19, l. 5, insert, in margin, No. 1485.

p. 30, l. 4 from bottom, for "*ciasama*", read *ciasuna*.

- p. 53, **L 11**, for "disk", read *desk*; **L 36** for "īpe", read *ipē*.
 p. 54, **L 10**, for "congione", read *congionse*; **L 12** for "de la", read *at*; **L 30** for "consiegnē", read *consieguc*.
 p. 55, **L 27**, for "prende", read *procede*.
 p. 56, **L 29**, for "praemizatur", read *proemizatur*.
 p. 58, **L 27**, for "monarco", read *monaco*.
 p. 59, **L 1**, for "li colpi", read *le colpe*.
 p. 61, **L 14**, for "ussio", read *uscio*.
 p. **64, L 28**, for "operava", read *sperava*, and for "perduto", read *perdinari* (for *per denari*).
 p. 67, **L 22**, for "terzini", read *terzine*.
 p. 77, **L 25**, for "ova", read *ora*.
 p. 104, **L 29**, for "il", read *la*.
 p. 107, **L 6**, for "1455", read *1485*; **L 9**, for "have", read *here*.
 p. 111, **L 4** from bottom, for "al", read *el*.
 p. 123, **L 24**, for "lay", read *lie*; also at p. 405, **L 7**.
 p. 155, **L 4**, for "Litterati", read *Letterati*.
 p. 170, **L 30**, for "prodigeous", read *prodigious*.
 p. 201, **L 8**, for "Disposata", read *Disponsata*.
 p. 234, **L 13**, for "Felicitious", read *Felicitous*.
 p. 240, **L 4**, for "ragonare", read *ragionare*.
 p. 243, **L 10**, for "108", read *81*.
 p. 252, last line, for "1999", read *3199*.
 p. 283, **L 30**, for "dicenne", read *decenne*; also at p. 284, **L 19** and **26**, and p. 593, **L 12**.
 p. 298, **L 18**, after "Jacopo", insert *della Lana*.
 p. 304, **L 2** from bottom, for "Sam", read *Lam*.
 p. 322, **L 13**, for "1532", read *1332*.
 p. 324, **L 27**, for "battaglie", read *battaglia*.
 p. 327, **L 3** from bottom, for "was", read *is*.
 p. 343, **L 29**, for "le", read *la*.
 p. 586, **L 35**, for "proceeded", read *preceded*.
 p. 590, **L 31**, for "vicendo", read *vicenda*.
 p. 591, **L 37**, for "crop", read *cross*.
 p. 593, **L 40**, for "confirmity", read *conformity*.
 p. 601, **L 7**, col. **1**, for "390", read *396*.



